

Michał Németh  
(Kraków)

## Remarks on the etymology of Hung. *hajdú* 'herdsman' and Tkc. *haydamak* 'brigand'

**Contents:** 0. Introduction; 1. The Hungarian etymology of Hung. *hajdú*, 1.1. The -jt- > -jd- shift, 1.2. Ott. *hayduq* ~ *haydut* < SCr. *hajduk* < Hung. *hajdú*, 1.3. Hung. *hajdú* > SCr. *hajduk* > Hung. *hajduk*, 1.4. Ott. *haydut* > CTat. *haydut*, 1.5. Conclusion; 2. The Turkic etymology of Hung. *hajdú*, 2.1. The phonetic development of KTKc. *\*haydağ*, 2.2. The MK. -ğ suffix, 2.3. Hung. *hajdú* > Rom. *haidău*, 2.4. KTKc. *\*aydağ*, 2.5. Conclusion; 3. The case of Ott., &c. *haydamak*, Ukr., &c. *hajdamak(a)*, 3.1. The etymology and the borrowing channels of the word; 4. Conclusion; 5. General sketch of the borrowing routes of the forms mentioned in the paper; abbreviations, references.

0. Numerous attempts have been made at explaining the origin of the Hungarian word *hajdú*.<sup>1</sup> In this paper another attempt is made to add – where it is possible – new data to its etymology.

The origin of the discussed word is quite a complex and extraordinary case. A few years ago, besides the Hungarian etymology, another suggestion was proposed by M. Ivanics, who showed us a possibility of deriving *hajdú* from Turkic, namely the Kipchak-Turkic *\*haydağ*.<sup>2</sup> Consequently, in our work we would like to compare these two suggestions. We will also consider how such words as Pol., SCr., Hung., &c. *hajduk*, Ott. *haydut* ~ *haydud*, Pol., Ukr., &c. *hajdamaka* cor-

<sup>1</sup> The most important works among them are: Takáts (1900), Dankó (1960) – rev. Hadrovics (1960), Sulán (1961), De Bartolomeis (1974), Ivanics (1995).

<sup>2</sup> In our paper we would like to concentrate first and foremost on the data presented in Ivanics 1995, since it is the newest article on the word *hajdú* and, besides, it is the only work dealing with the possible KTKc. origin.

relate with the Hungarian word and whether it is possible to derive these words from *hajdú*.

1. In all major etymological dictionaries of Hungarian (namely: SzófSz, TESz and EWU) the word in question is considered to be a derivate from the Hungarian verb *hajt* 'to drive, to drive (sth, sb) away (Germ. *treiben*)', i.e. from the present participle form *hajtó* 'driving, driving (sth, sb) away; driver (Germ. *Treiber*)', which, according to the opinion of Hungarian etymologists, yielded *hajdú*, after voicing the *-t-* to *-d-* and the change of the final *-ó* [-ō] to *-ú* [-ū].<sup>3</sup> The authors of the etymological dictionaries are, however, doubtful about the possibility of the *-jt-* > *-jd-* change, since only a few examples are to be found in Hungarian to document such a consonant voicing.

1.1. A number of authors tried to point out similar *jt* > *jd* shifts in other languages (De Bartolomeis, Sulán) to confirm the plausibility of the same phonetic change in Hungarian. With regard to the *-jt-* > *-jd-* voicing in Hungarian, however, in our opinion these arguments fail to be conclusive, since the evidence to corroborate, or to refute, such a consonant shift should be traced within Hungarian, or in sources which would ensure us that they reflect the real phonetic characteristics of the Hungarian word. From a purely phonetic point of view a voicing process of an unvoiced consonant surrounded by a vowel and a voiced consonant is highly possible. Consequently, concerning the *-jt-* > *-jd-* change, in Kiss/Pusztai one can read as follows: "[...] Előreható részleges hasonulás: R.: *hajtó* > *hajdú*, [...] a zöngétlen *t* a *j* hatására zöngésül *d*-vé."<sup>4</sup> The same process can be observed in Hung. *\*hajtan* > *hajdan* 'erewhile'; *majt* > *majd* 'later (on), some time' (see e.g. Kiss/Pusztai *ibid.*), cf. the dialectal forms of *majd* 'schon, bald, später': *majD* ~ *majt* ~ *majté*g (Gálffy/Márton 312; also Szinnyei 1386: *majt* id. (Transilvania),

<sup>3</sup> In Kiss/Pusztai 343 one can read that the final diphthong *-ou* could also yield *-ü*. Among the enumerated examples also *hajdú* figures, but since a form *hajdó* is also attested, it is inferred that in the case of *hajdú* the final *-ou* became monophthongized first into *-ó* and then into *-ü*. This is also to be confirmed by another example *lábou* (1267: *Aranlabou*) > *lábó* (1416: *Sarlabo*) > *lábú* (*-ü* adj. for *láb* 'foot', see MNyT 174). The final *-ó* > *-ü* change seems to be corroborated by other Hungarian examples, cf. *aszó* > *aszü* 'muscatel'; *háboró* > *háborü* 'war' &c. (see TESz II 24). Also orthographical evidence concerning *hajdú* corresponds with the presumed *-ó* > *-ü* change; in Hungarian documents: (1553) *hajdótáncot* 'acc. of *hajdó*-dance' (TESz II 23), in sources written in German: e.g. *Hayto*, *Heydo* (Ivanics 396), or in the dictionary of Oriental languages compiled by F. Meninski, where one can read as follows: "حيدود *hajdūd*, *hajdūn*, ex. Hung. Miles, pedestris Hungaricus, vulg. *Haido* [...]" (Meninski I 1824). The lack of a form *\*hajtü* suggests the chronology of the phonetic changes: *hajtó* > *hajdó* > *hajdú*. The change of the final vowel is highly possible, also in the light of the coexistence of forms *hajtó*, *hajdó* and *hajdú* with the same meaning in written sources.

<sup>4</sup> Transl. = Partial progressive assimilation: arch. *hajtó* > *hajdú*, [...] the unvoiced *t* due to the impact of *j* is voiced to *d*. (Kiss/Pusztai 110).

ÚMT III 956: *majt* id., Wichmann 297);<sup>5</sup> Hung. *fajt* (cf. 1588: *faith*) 'grouse' > *fajd* (Wichmann 215, 298); Hung. dial. *onnajd* 'from there' ~ *onnajt* (Wichmann 298); Hung. dial. *innejd* ~ *innejt* 'from here' (Wichmann 298), &c. These examples reinforce the possibility of such a phonetic change.

1.2. Let us go on to examine the case of Ott. *haydut* ~ *hayduq*. Our goal is to prove its Hungarian provenance. Basing on philological evidence one can say that the word appears in 1559/1560 for the first time in the Ottoman Empire's written sources (Ivanics 394) as *hayduq*. At the same time (already in 1559/1560) this form starts to alternate with *haydud* [-t] ~ *haydut* [-t]. For the alternation of -k ~ -t another example is to be found, namely Ott. *uškod* ~ *uskok* 'insurgent, soldier against the Turkish rule on the Balkans in the 16<sup>th</sup> century'.

We believe that a borrowing of both the accusative and the plural form of Hung. *hajdú* into Ottoman is rather unlikely (i.e. nom. pl. *hajdúk*, acc. *hajdút*) – first of all in light of the fact that the Serbo-Croatian (or South-Slavic) sources do not show such an alternation of *hajdut* ~ *hajduk*.<sup>6</sup> Let us, however, discuss another possible explanation of the final consonant alternation:

The Ottoman historiographer *Tālikizāde* at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century explains the meaning of *haydut* with the following words: "[...] haydut gelüb *hay tut* diyince memleket alır" (Ivanics 397) [transl. = [...] the Heyducks come and while saying [shouting] *hey grab [it]!* they take the land]. Such a folk etymology indicates that the word was not understood morphologically. It could have happened that, after presuming that it is not a native word, the final -k was changed analogically to Arabic loans with a similar -ut ending (cf. *terāfud* 'mutual help' (Redhouse 526: ترافد), *terassud* 'an observing, observation' (Redhouse 534: ترصد), *sayūd* 'clever at hunting' (Redhouse 1203: صيود) &c.).<sup>7</sup> Also, if one turns to De-

<sup>5</sup> According to TESz II 819, *majt* is derived by the -i lative and the -t locative suffix from a demonstrative pronoun stem preserved also in Hung. *más* 'other', *ma* 'today' &c., thus the form with -jt- must be the older one.

<sup>6</sup> In our opinion if *hajdú* was borrowed into Ottoman, it could have happened only through a Serbo-Croatian mediation, in the light of the fact that most of the loanwords of (originally) Hungarian origin entered Ottoman through the Serbo-Croatian channel and because of the fact that *hajduk*-movement gained ground first and foremost on the Balkans.

<sup>7</sup> The etymological dictionary of the Turkish language seems to corroborate such a presumption (Eren 176): "[...] Macarcadan alınmıştır [...]. Türkçede Sırpça *hàjduk*, Bulgarca *xajdik* biçimlerinin sonundaki -k sesinin -t'ye çevrildiği göze çarpıyor. Osmanlı sözlükçülerin *haydut*'u Arapça bir alıntı saydıkları görüyoruz. Son olarak, Sikirić [...] de *haydut*'un Arapçadan geldiğini yazmıştır. [...] [transl. = [...]] A Hungarian loanword [...]. The change of the final -k of the Serbian form *hàjduk* and Bulgarian *xajdik* into -t in Turkish is conspicuous. We can see that the Ottoman lexicographers thought *haydut* to be an Arabic loan. Recently, also Sikirić [...] wrote, that *hajdut* came from Arabic.]. The only weak point of such an etymology is that Arabic loanwords with -uk in auslaut are to be found in Turkish as well. Bulg. *hajdut*, *hajdutin* seem to be a loan from Ottoman; *hajdutin* additionally received a Slavic

vellioglu 412 such an explanation can be corroborated: “*haydūd* حيدود (a[rapça]. i[sim]. c[emi].: hayâdîd): dağ hırsız [kelimenin aslı Macarca’dır].” [trans. = (A[ra-bic]. n[omen]. pl[ural].: hayâdîd): bandit living in mountains [the origin of the word is Hungarian]]. The fact that the Ott. *haydut* had a plural form built up according to the Arabic grammatical rules (*hayâdîd*) appears to be evidence that the word could have been interpreted as an Arabic loan.<sup>8</sup> The form *uškod* (beside *uskok* with final -d) could be built analogically to *haydut* since it had the meaning of a similar group of insurgents, especially since we know that “in den Dokumenten werden sie [die Uskokken] oft zusammen mit den Heiducken erwähnt [...]” (Ivanics 394).<sup>9</sup>

1.3. Let us take a closer look at the duplicate forms *hajdú* and *hajduk* (nom. sg.) in Hungarian. The usage of Hung. *hajdukok* (from 1527) for the plural nominative form is seemingly (for Hungarian native speakers) an example of a double plural added to the stem, i.e. *hajdú-k-ok*. We also agree with the author, that it may give evidence that *hajduk* (the singular form of *hajdukok*) was not treated as a native word. We believe, however, that Hung. *hajduk* is to be explained from SCr. *hajduk* as a Rückwanderer, i.e. Hung. *hajdú* ‘Viehhirt, Fußsoldat’ > SCr. *hajduk* ‘insurgent, soldier against the Turkish rule on the Balkans’ > Hung. *hajduk* id. This scheme would appear to be corroborated by the following:

First of all let us emphasize that it is highly possible that Hung. *hajdú* did yield SCr. *hajduk*, with a -k added on Serbo-Croatian ground to help its adaptation to the Serbo-Croatian declensional system. This argument seems to be highly persuasive – even more so as another example of such a change is to be found, namely Hung. *fattyú* ‘bastard’ > SCr. *faćuk* id.<sup>10</sup>

On the other hand, the fact that Hung. *hajduk* is a Rückwanderer corresponds with the chronology of the appearance of *hajdú* and *hajduk* and with the meaning of these words as well. *Hajdú* occurred for the first time around 1500-10

suffix -in, cf. Ott. *bekâr* ‘bachelor, without employment or profession’ > Bulg. *bekjâr*, *bekjârin* id., see e.g. TESz I 291.

<sup>8</sup> We could not find the word attested in Arabic.

<sup>9</sup> The examples which were enumerated by Ivanics 394 to support a -k ~ -t alternation (*ekmek* ~ *etmek* and *pamuq* ~ *pamut*) seem to be unreliable: *ekmek* ~ *etmek* is irrelevant in this case since the alternation does not effect the final position; concerning *pamuq* ~ *pamut* we are unable to find in Turkish sources the form with final -t; forms which we have found show always a -k, e.g. *pamuk* (Redhouse 452: *pamuq*, Sami 347, LO 306, LL 533, Zenker 210, Radloff IV 1211-1212), *panbuk*, *panmuk* (TS IV 638, Redhouse 453: *panbuq*, Sami 347, Zenker 210), *pambuk* (TS III 575, Redhouse 436: *pambuq*, Sami 347, Radloff IV 1212). The only language where a final -t appears is Hungarian where: (1631) *pamuk*, (1654) *pamot* &c., thus the change -k > -t happened in Hungarian (cf. *szamak* > *zamat* ‘aroma, flavour’, see TESz III 78-79; also EWU I 106). In Hungarian dialects *hajdut* does not appear.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Skok 502: “[...] posuđenica iz mađarskoga dobila je suglasnički završetak na -k, [...], da može ući u našu deklinaciju na -o” [transl. = the Hungarian loanword got a -k consonantal ending, [...], to be able to enter our -o declension”].

in Hungarian written sources, as a proper name *Haydo*. Shortly after, in 1514, it was attested as an appellative in the meaning 'herdsman' (Lat. *bubulcus*) (MOKISz 333) and, in the same year, due to the role of *hajdús* in the insurrection in 1514 it gained another meaning of 'infantryman'. Hung. *hajduk* appeared later, first in 1553 in the meaning of 'Räuber' and additionally received (1554, cf. Ivanics 395) the meaning of 'a South-Slavic, Moldavian &c. insurgent in the period of the Ottoman rule' (1865), both due to the *hajduk*-movement on the Balkans. By contrast, *hajduk* does not bear the meaning of 'Viehhirt'.<sup>11</sup>

1.4. In one of the Crimean Tatar annals from 1561 one can find *haydutča* 'auf Heiducken Art' (after Ivanics 395). Let us shortly refer to the history of *hajdús* to answer the question of how, from a chronological point of view, a Hungarian word appeared within such a period of time in Crimean Tatar. When the Southern territories of Hungary in the 16<sup>th</sup> century were overtaken by the rule of the Ottoman Empire, the cattle trade started to weaken and in consequence a certain number of *hajdús* started to deal with soldiery and plunderage. They also formed numerous arrays fighting against Turkish rule (or against the Habsburgs in the 17<sup>th</sup> century). Thus one can say that the so called *hajduk*-movement (cf. SCr. *hajduk*), gained ground in the Balkans as a military and plundering movement; consequently, both the Ottoman Empire and Christian Europe took interest in *hajduks*. Seen in this light it is highly possible that this word could have spread (by South-Slavic mediation) within approximately thirty years (i.e. between 1527, the first attestation of Hung. *hajduk*, and 1561, the date when the word appears in Crimean Tatar). In addition, one can see that the word appears in the same time – concerning the non-Balkan languages – also in Italian, Polish, German, Russian and French sources: Ital. *aidoni* (1552) 'herdsmen' (De Bartolomeis 457), *aiduco* ~ *aiducco* (16<sup>th</sup> century) 'Hungarian infantryman' (Battisti/Alessio 101), Pol. *hajduk* (1564) 1. 'soldier of the Hungarian infantry'; 2. 'servant dressed in Hungarian manner serving on the courts of the nobility' &c. (Wołosz 255-256), Germ. *Heiduck* (the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century) 'a member of mercenary armies in the 15-16<sup>th</sup> centuries, member of irregular troops defending Austria against the Turks' (Kluge 289), Russ. *gajduk* (1600) 'member of the Polish and Hungarian light infantry' (Barchudarov IV 8), Fr. *heiduque* (1605) 'Hungarian infantryman; insurgent in the period of the Ottoman rule on the Balkans' (DÉF 318).

When seen in this light, an Ottoman mediation is, as regards CTat. *haydutča*, highly possible.<sup>12</sup> Given the fact that after the conquer of the Crimea in 1475 by Sultan Mehmed II a strong Ottoman influence was exerted on the peninsula, it is not surprising that also *haydut* occurred in Crimean Tatar. Phonetic evidence also

<sup>11</sup> For other meanings, which evolved later, cf. e.g. TESz II 23-24 and the following paragraphs of our paper.

<sup>12</sup> As an argument against the possibility of explaining CTat. *haydutča* by Hung. *hajdú*, it could be mentioned that in the meaning of 'auf Heiducken Art' *hajdú* appears in Hung. relatively late, in 1683. One should remember, however, that the suffix *-ča* is quite productive in Crimean Tatar (Jankowski 124-125).

seems to corroborate our presumption: that is to say the initial *h-* rarely occurs in native Crimean Tatar words (with the sole exception of some subdialects of the central dialect), it appears only, by contrast, in loanwords.<sup>13</sup>

1.5. From these facts one can conclude that Hung. *hajdú* is possibly derived from the Hungarian verb *hajt* and, on the other hand, that the etymon of SCr. *hajduk*, Ott. *hayduk* ~ *haydud* ~ *haydut* and CTat. (*h*)*aydut* is Hung. *hajdú*. Still to be examined is whether a KTkc. form could have yielded Hung. *hajdú*.

2. To make our work perspicuous, let us shortly outline the proposed Turkic etymology of the word, and consequently our reflection connected to it. As we have already mentioned above, according to Ivanics, a KTkc. *\*haydağ* yielded Hung. *hajdú*, not directly however, but (most likely) through Rom. *\*haydağ* or *\*haydow* (> Rom. *haidău*).

2.1. The verb *ayda-*, *hayda-* 'treiben' is widely spread in Turkic languages. It can be found in great majority of Kipchak, Oghuz, Turki and in some South-Siberian languages.<sup>14</sup> There is a general consensus that KTkc. *\*-ağ* > *-aw*,<sup>15</sup> thus consequently one can say that – according to Ivanics 1995 – KTkc. *\*haydağ* should have yielded *\*haydaw*. Phonetically, such a form unquestionably could have been loaned into Hung. as *hajdó* since it is generally accepted that Hung. *-ău* > *-ou* > *-ó* (cf. Kiss/Pusztai 343, MNyT 174).<sup>16</sup> Basing on these facts one could sketch the following scheme: KTkc. *\*haydağ* ~ *\*haydaw* > Rom. (*\*haydağ*) ~ *\*haydaw* > Hung. (*hajday* >) *hajdó* > *hajdú* (Ivanics 400, 401).

2.2. We believe, however, that such a conception is doubtful. The MK. suffix *-ğ* was first and foremost used to derive *nomina actionis*<sup>17</sup> not *nomina actoris*. This seems to be corroborated by the lexical material, namely: to gain the meaning of *nomen actoris* the widely used Tkc. suffix *-čĭ* has to be added to the *nomen actionis*-form (i.e. 'Treiben' + *-čĭ* → 'Treiber'): e.g. Kmk. *haydav* → *hay-*

<sup>13</sup> See Jankowski 18. Although, in CTat. also *aydutčasına* 'auf Heiducken Art' and *aydut* 'Räuber' (without initial *h-*) do appear, *haydutča* points to the possibility of Ottoman influence. The CTat. form with the initial *a-* must have appeared later due to the phonetic adaptation of the word.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Bšk. *äyðäü* (BaškRussS 813), KTat. *äydäü* (TatRussS 726), CTat. *aydu-* (CTatRussS 15), Kirg. *aydat-* (KirgRussS 30), KkIp. *ayda-* (KkIpRussS 25), Kzk. *ayda-* (Ivanics 399), Nog. *ayda-* (NogRussS 29), Kmk. *hayda-* (RussKmkS 153), KarK. *hayda-* (KRPS 606); Gag. *hayda-* (Ivanics 399), Ott. *hayda-* (Zenker 938), Trkm. *hayda-* 'bystro delať čto-l.' (TurkmRussS 681); ETurk. *hayda-* (Shaw 188), Usb. *hayda-* (UzbRussS 649), Uyg. *haydi-* (RussUjgS 203); Oir. *ayda-* (Ölmez 144).

<sup>15</sup> Cf. e.g. Berta 1996: 524-525.

<sup>16</sup> Also KTkc. (or Rom.) *haydağ* could have been – from phonetic point of view – the etymon of the Hung. word since we know, that in Hung. *-ay* > *-ó* (cf. e.g. Kiss/Pusztai 302).

<sup>17</sup> See: Berta 1994: 166.

*davču* (KmkRussS 113), &c. Such a semantic incongruity appears to be a serious drawback of the KTkc. etymology.<sup>18</sup>

2.3. Another question which makes the KTkc. etymology even less probable is the case of Rom. *haidău*. The duplication of word forms in Romanian, namely *haidău* ‘Ochsentreiber’ and *haiduc* ‘Art ungarischer Soldat, Räuber’ – according to Ivanics 401 – was another evidence to corroborate the KTkc. etymology: *haidău* << KTkc. *\*haydağ* and *haiduc* < SCr. *hajduk*. On the one hand it is doubtful for the semantic reason argued above, on the other hand Rom. *haidău* can be easily derived from Hung. *hajdó* (~ *hajdú*), since in the absolute majority of Hungarian loanwords in Romanian the -ó is reflected by the diphthong -ău.<sup>19</sup> We believe that SCr. *hajduk* ‘valorous brigand, warrior for freedom in the age of Turkish rule’ > Rom. *haiduc* 1. ‘Art ungarischer Soldat’; 2. ‘Räuber’ ↔ Hung. *hajdú*.<sup>20</sup>

2.4. Finally, let us focus on the KTkc. form *\*haydağ* itself. It seems reasonable to postulate (*h*)*ayda-* as an original Turkic form on the basis of the phonetic marks of its etymological equivalents reflected in the present-day Turkic lexicon; while Oghuz and Turki languages show (mostly) forms with an initial *h-*, in Kipchak dialects, by contrast, these forms occur almost regularly without it.<sup>21</sup> When seen in this light, however, it appears to be more apposite for KTkc. to reconstruct *\*ayda-* (and consequently *\*aydağ*) rather than *\*hayda-*. Ergo, if so, the KTkc. form could not have yielded Hung. *hajdó*.<sup>22</sup>

2.5. From the previous discussion it would seem that basing on philological evidence one is confronted with a – sit venia verbo – “phonetic stalemate” as regards the Turkic and Hungarian etymology. The former appears to be less probable for semantic and morphological reasons mainly; the arguments which corroborate the Hungarian origin cannot be treated as evidence against the Turkic one. Considering the phonetic similarity of the derivatives of the Hung. and Tkc. verb meaning ‘treiben’ (or the Tkc. interjection *hayde!* ‘wohlan!, los!’) the possibility of a contamination cannot be disregarded, e.g. a KTkc. *\*haydawčī*

<sup>18</sup> For the same reason also the possibility of the borrowing of KTkc. *\*haydağ* > SSlav. *\*haydak* ~ *\*haydok* is rather doubtful.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. e.g. *jăgădău* ‘Wirtshaus’ < *fogadó* ‘Gasthaus’ (Tamás 318); *haitău* 1. ‘Treiber’; 2. ‘Ochsenhirt’ < Hung. *hajtó* ‘Treiber’ (Tamás 398), &c.

<sup>20</sup> The possibility of the contamination (Rom. *haiduc* ↔ Hung. *hajdú*) shows us the meaning of words; Tamás 396-397: *haiduc* [...] 3. ‘Polizist, Gefängniswächter’, cf. Hung. *hajdú* – among other meanings also ‘Schutzmann, Polizist (besonders vor 1848)’ (TESz II 24).

<sup>21</sup> With the sole exception of KarK. *hayda-* (which most probably belongs to the layer of Ott. loanwords as in Halich and Troki dialects it does not appear) and Kmk. *hayda-* (where Oghuz influence is also possible).

<sup>22</sup> It is true that in Kipchak sources the form *ayda-* outnumbers *hayda-*, yet it remains a fact that the KTkc. form *\*ayda-* is purely a hypothetical one; especially as the (weakly pronounced) initial *h-*, in this case, did not disappear regularly in the Turkic languages. Consequently, we do not treat this argument as a conclusive one, merely as supportive.

'Treiber', \**haydaw* 'Treiben', and the well known and widely spread interjection *hayde* could have had an influence on the *-jt-* > *-jd-* change in Hungarian.

3. The question of the etymology of Hung. *hajdú* leads us to the problem of the formally and semantically similar word *haydamak* 1. 'Ukrainian insurgent against the Poles in the 18<sup>th</sup> century'; 2. 'brigand'.

3.1. The word appears first and foremost in some Kipchak, Oghuz and Slavic languages used in the region of the Crimea and in its neighbourhood.<sup>23</sup> Its meaning developed due to the role of *haydamaks* in the Ukrainian insurrection led by M. Zaliznjak and I. Honta against the Poles in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Unquestionably, the etymon of the Ukr. *hajdamaka* is Tkcs. *haydamak* 'treiben'; as it displays the initial *h-*, it was visibly the Ott. form. Morphologically the word is a suffixed form: *hayda-* + *-mak* (a suffix building in Turkish a grammatical category similar to the Indo-European infinitive form) 'to drive, drive away; driving, driving away'. The verb (*h*)*ayda-* seems to be a derivative from the onomatopoeic stem *hayda* 'come on! (to spur someone on)'. Thus the original meaning of *haydamak* was 'to shout *hayda*' and developed into 'to shout *hayda* driving someone / something away'. In Ott. or CTat., however, this verb could have gained another meaning of 'to shout *hayda* while chasing after / pursuing someone or something'<sup>24</sup> and finally 'to chase, to pursue'. The change of the meaning 'to chase, to pursue' → 'chaser, pursuer' → 'insurgent'<sup>25</sup> could have happened in Ukrainian due to analogy to semantically similar group of nouns with the same *-ak(a)* ending: e.g. *huljaka* 'crouser' (Fedčenko 201), *pyjak(a)* 'drunkard' (Fedčenko 761), *rozbyšaka* 'brigand' (Fedčenko 1040) &c. The meaning of 'brigand' of *hajdamak(a)* attested in several languages developed accordingly to those, against whom the *hajdamaks* fought.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>23</sup> KTkc.: CTat. *aydamak* 'razbojnik' (CTatRussS 15), KarK. *haydamak* id. (KRPS 606); Ogh.: Gag. *haydamak* id. (Ivanics 399), Ott. *haydamak* id. (de Meynard I 850); Slav.: Pol. *hajdamak(a)* 'brigand' (SEJP 167), Russ. *gajdamak* 1. 'hist. participant in the Ukrainian insurrection against the Poles'; 2. 'brigand' (Vasmer I 251), Ukr. *hajdamaka* 'hist. insurgent, participant in the Ukrainian insurrection against the Poles in the 18<sup>th</sup> century' (Meľnyčuk I 453; Meľnyčuk I 452: Ukr. *gajdabura* 'brigand'). In Hung. it appears only as a historical term: *hajdamák* 'insurgent against the Poles in the 18<sup>th</sup> century'.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. a similar semantic and morphologic development in Hung.: *haj!* 'onomatopoeia' → *hajkász* 'to drive away; to chase, pursue', *hajkurász* 'to chase, to pursue' (EWU 513).

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Redhouse 2156: Ott. هایدامق *haydamak* 'a cattle-lifter, marauder'; هایدامق قازاغی 'Freebooting Cossacks'.

<sup>26</sup> Only in Tksh. the verb *hayda-* has the meaning of 'to assault, to plunder' besides 'treiben' (cf. TurRussS 240, de Meynard I 850). We believe that the latter was the original meaning; after emerging the *hajdamak*-movement the verb gained the additional meaning 'to assault, to plunder'.



The word entered Slavic languages and Romanian. Consequently, Russ. *gajdamak* entered also Bashkir, Kazan Tatar, Kirghiz (as *gaydamak*), thus in these Turkic languages *gajdamak* is not a native word, although ultimately derived from a Turkic stem. This thesis can be ascertained for semantic reasons, and in the light of the initial *g-*. The KarK. *haydamak* is seemingly a loan from Ottoman in the light of its initial *h-*. Thus, from these facts one can conclude that, although Ott. &c. *haydamak* and *haydut* have the same meanings they have etymologically different roots.<sup>27</sup>

4. The previous discussion attempted to prove that the Hungarian etymology of Hung. *hajdú* cannot be neglected. In its present form the KTkc. origin cannot be accepted. On balance, however it can cast some valuable light on the problem. Hopefully, future works will provide more conclusive evidence on the discussed matter.

5. We believe that a general sketch of the borrowing routes of the derivatives of Hung. *hajt* 'to drive (away)', Tkc. *(h)ayda-* id. and KTkc. *\*haydağ* mentioned in our paper is as follows:<sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup> It remains to be seen whether MTat. *aydar* 'einem Räuber ähnlicher Mann' (Kakuk 115: "*aydar* [...] – Vgl. osm. *haydar* 'Löwe'; fig. 'ein mutiger, verwegener, tollkühner Mensch' [...]") is to be connected with the word in question, cf. Zenker 938: "[...] هايدمق *haidamak* [...] Vb. act. Aor. *haidalar*, *haidar* [...]". Cf. also Devellioğlu 412: *haydar* 1. 'lion'; [...]; 3. 'brave, stouthearted young man' [...].

<sup>28</sup> To distinguish the derivatives of Hung. *hajt* we used bold and underlined letters, to display the derivatives of KTkc. *haydağ* we underlined them and wrote them in italics.



## A b b r e v i a t i o n s

**Bšk.** = Bashkir; **Bulg.** = Bulgarian; **CTat.** = Crimean Tatar; **ETurk.** = Turki in Eastern Turkistan; **Fr.** = French; **Gag.** = Gagauz; **Germ.** = German; **Hung.** = Hungarian; **Ital.** = Italian; **KarK.** = Crimean Karaim; **Kirg.** = Kirghiz; **Kklp.** = Karakalpak; **Kmk.** = Kumük; **KTat.** = Kazan Tatar; **KTkc.** = Kipchak-Turkic; **Kzk.** = Kazakh; **Lat.** = Latin; **MK.** = Middle Kipchak; **MTat.** = Misher Tatar; **Nog.** = Nogai; **Ogh.** = Oghuz; **Oir.** = Oïrot; **Ott.** = Ottoman; **Pol.** = Polish; **Rom.** = Romanian; **Russ.** = Russian; **SCr.** = Serbo-Croatian; **Slav.** = Slavic; **Slk.** = Slovak; **SSlav.** = South-Slavic; **Tkc.** = Turkic; **Tksh.** = Turkish; **Trkm.** = Turkmen; **Ukr.** = Ukrainian; **Usb.** = Usbek; **Uyg.** = Uygur.

## R e f e r e n c e s

- Barchudarov, S. G., et al. (eds.): *Slovar' russkogo jazyka XI-XVII vv.*, vol. 4, Moskva 1977.
- BaşkRussS = Uraksin, Z. G., et al. (eds.): *Başkirsko-russkij slovar'*, Moskva 1996.
- Battisti/Alessio = Battisti, C. / Alessio, G.: *Dizionario etimologico italiano*, vol. 1, Firenze 1950.
- Berta 1994 = Berta, Á.: Zum Wandel des auslautenden -G im Kiptschakischen. – *Journal of Turkology* 2 (1994/2): 163-195.
- Berta 1996 = Berta, Á.: *Deverbale Wortbildung im Mittelkiptschakisch-Türkischen* (= *Turcologica* 24), Wiesbaden 1996.
- CTatRussS = Asanov, Š. A., et al.: *Krymskotatarsko-russkij slovar'*, Kiev 1988.
- Dankó, I.: K problematike vengerskogo slova *hajdú* 'gajduk'. – *Studia Slavica* 6 (1960): 169-191.
- De Bartolomeis, M.: Magyar *hajdú* – olasz *aiducco* (vagy *aiduco*). – *Magyar Nyelv* 70 (1974/1): 451-458.
- de Meynard, B. A. C.: *Dictionnaire Turc-Français*, vol. 1, Amsterdam 1971.
- Devellioglu, F.: *Osmanlıca-Türkçe Ansiklopedik Lügat*, Ankara 1970.
- DÉF = Bloch, O. / von Wartburg, W.: *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue française*, Paris 1975.
- Eren, H.: *Türk Dilinin Etimolojik Sözlüğü*, Ankara 1999.
- EWU = Benkö, L. (ed.): *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Ungarischen*, Budapest 1993-94.
- Fedčenko, S. V.: *Velikij tlumačnyj slovnyk sučasnoji ukrajinskoji movy*, Kyjiv 2001.
- Gálffy/Márton = Gálffy, M. / Márton, Gy.: *Székely nyelvföldrajzi szótár*, Budapest 1987.
- Hadrovics, L.: [Review attached to Dankó (= last footnote)]. – *Studia Slavica* 6 (1960): 191.

- Ivanics, M.: Anmerkungen zur Etymologie *hajdú* 'Heiduck'. – *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 48/3 (1995): 391-403.
- Jankowski, H.: *Gramatyka języka krymskotatarskiego*, Poznań 1992.
- Kakuk, Zs.: *Mischärtatarische Texte mit Wörterverzeichnis* (= *Studia Uralo-Altaica* 38), Szeged 1996.
- KirgRussS = Judachin, K. K.: *Kirgizsko-russkij slovar'*, Moskva 1965.
- Kiss/Pusztai = Kiss, J. / Pusztai F. (eds.): *Magyar nyelvtörténet*, Budapest 2003.
- KklpRussS = Nasyrov, D. S. / Ubajbullaev, K. U.: *Karakalpaksko-russkij slovar'*, [ed. Baskakov, N. A.], Moskva 1958.
- Kluge, F.: *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*, Berlin – New York 1975.
- KmkRussS = Bammatov, Z. Z. (ed.): *Kumyksko-russkij slovar'*, Moskva 1969.
- KRPS = Baskakov, N. A. / Šapšal, S. M. / Zajončkovskij, A. (eds.): *Karaimsko-russko-poľskij slovar'*, Moskva 1974.
- LL = Şeyhülislâm, M. E., Efendi: *Lehcetü'l-Lügat*, [reedited by Kırkkılıç, A.] Ankara 1999.
- LO = Vefik, A., Paşa: *Lehce-i Osmânî*, [reedited by Toparlı, R.] Ankara 2000.
- Meľnyčuk, O. C., et al. (eds.): *Etymolohičnyj slovnyk ukrajinskoji movy*, vol. 1, Kyjiv 1982.
- Meninski = Meninski à Mesgnien, Fr.: *Thesaurus Linguarum Orientalium Turciae-Arabicae-Persicae*, vol. 1, İstanbul 2000.
- MNyT = Bárczi, G. / Benkö, L. / Berrár, J.: *A magyar nyelv története*, Budapest 1967.
- MOKISz = Szamota, I.: *Magyar Oklevél-Szótár. Régi oklevelekben és egyéb iratokban előforduló magyar szók gyűjteménye*, [edited by Zolnai, Gy.], Budapest 1902-1906.
- NogRussS = Kalmykova, S. A., et al.: *Nogajsko-russkij slovar'*, [ed. Baskakov, N. A.] Moskva 1963.
- Ölmez, Z. K.: Oïrot Etymologies (I). – *Studia Turcologica Cracoviensia* 5 (1998): 141-147.
- Radloff, W.: *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte*, St. Pétersbourg, vol. 1-4, 1893-1911.
- Redhouse, J. W.: *A Turkish and English Lexicon*, Constantinople 1921.
- RussKmkS = Bammatov, Z. Z. (ed.): *Russko-kumykskij slovar'*, Moskva 1960.
- RussUjgS = Rachimov, T. R., et al. (eds.): *Russko-ujgurskij slovar'*, Moskva 1965.
- Sami, Š.: *Kamus-i Türki*, İstanbul 1318 [after Hiğra = 1900].
- SEJP = Brückner, A.: *Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego*, Kraków 1927.
- Shaw, R. B.: *A sketch of the Turki language as spoken in Eastern Turkistan (Kāshghar and Yarkand.)*, Calcutta 1880.
- Skok, P.: *Etimologijski rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika*, vol. 1, Zagreb 1971.
- Sulán, B.: Zu der Streitfrage über den Ursprung der mittel- bzw. südosteuropäischen Wörter *hajdú hajduk hajdut* usw. – *Studia Slavica* 7 (1961): 177-186.

- Szinnyei, J.: *Magyar tájszótár*, Budapest [photomechanically reprinted in] 2003 [first published in 1893-1901].
- SzófSz = Bárczi, G.: *Magyar szófejtő szótár*, Budapest 1941.
- Takáts, S.: Hajdú. – *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* 30 (1900): 348-350.
- Tamás, L.: *Etymologisch-historisches Wörterbuch der ungarischen Elemente im Rumänischen. (Unter Berücksichtigung der Mundartwörter)*, Budapest 1966.
- TatRussS = Osmanov, M. M., et al. (eds.): *Tatarsko-russkij slovar'*, Moskva 1966.
- TESz = Benkő, L., et al. (eds.): *A magyar nyelv történeti-etimológiai szótára*, vol. 1-4, 1964-1984.
- TS III = XIII. *Yüzyıldan Günümüze Kadar Kitaplardan Toplanmış Tanıklariyle Tarama Sözlüğü*, vol. 3, Ankara 1954.
- TS IV = XIII. *Yüzyıldan Günümüze Kadar Kitaplardan Toplanmış Tanıklariyle Tarama Sözlüğü*, vol. 4, Ankara 1957.
- TurkmRussS = Baskakov, N. A., et al. (eds.): *Turkmensko-russkij slovar'*, Moskva 1968.
- TurRussS = Magazanik, D. A.: *Turecko-russkij slovar'*, Moskva 1945.
- ÚMT = B. Lőrinczy, É. (ed.): *Új magyar tájszótár*, vol. 3, Budapest 1992.
- UzbRussS = Akabirov, S. F. / Magrufov, Z. M. / Chodžachanov, A. T. (eds.): *Uzbeksko-russkij slovar'*, Moskva 1959.
- Vasmer, M.: *Russisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, vol. 1, Heidelberg 1953.
- Wichmann, Gy.: A moldvai csángó mássalhangzók történetéből III. – *Magyar Nyelv* 4 (1908): 295-307.
- Wołosz, R.: Wyrazy węgierskie w języku polskim. – *Studia Slavica* 35 (1989): 215-317.
- Zenker, T. J.: *Dictionnaire Turc-Arabe-Persan*, Leipzig 1866.